

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05  
INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 SP-02 L-01 PRS-01 SSO-00  
DHA-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-10 IO-06 /059 W  
-----292016Z 032258 /44

O 291830Z MAR 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2513  
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1800

LIMDIS

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: NATO, PFOR, NAC  
SUBJ: NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE

REF: USNATO 1634

SUMMARY: THERE FOLLOW, WITH A REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE  
BY APRIL 4, OUR SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FORMAT AND INITIAL  
US CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE, ON  
WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF WILL SOON BEGIN WORK.  
END SUMMARY.

1. MARKING, AS IT WILL, THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST MEETING  
WITH LEADERS OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE, WE BELIEVE  
THE COMMUNIQUE SHOULD HIGHLIGHT MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE  
ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES IN A CONTEXT AND FORMAT  
CONSONANT WITH THE POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES OF OUR ALLIES.

2. THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF WILL BEGIN SOON TO PUT  
TOGETHER A FIRST ROUGH DRAFT AND WILL WELCOME SUGGESTIONS  
FROM THE US AND OTHER DELEGATIONS. ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES  
WILL EXPECT US TO PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS EMPHASIZING  
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CENTRAL THEMES OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES.  
THEY WILL ALSO EXPECT TO TRANSFORM OUR CONTRIBUTIONS  
IN THE DRAFTING SESSIONS, AND ATTEMPT TO WORK IN MANY  
SUGGESTIONS OF THEIR OWN, SO THAT THE FINAL DOCUMENT  
WILL NOT HAVE A "MADE IN WASHINGTON" CACHET.

3. ACCORDINGLY, WE RECOMMEND SUBMITTING THE FOLLOWING  
PROPOSALS TO THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF:

(A) AN INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH AFFIRMING:  
-- THE COMMITMENT OF ALL MEMBERS TO THE ALLIANCE;

-- THEIR DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN THE COMMON  
DEFENSE;

-- THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE BURDENS THIS WILL  
ENTAIL; AND

-- THEIR UNDERSTANDING THAT SOLIDARITY, WITHIN  
THE ALLIANCE, PROVIDES THE ESSENTIAL GUARANTEE  
OF THE SECURITY OF THEIR PEOPLES AND THE FREE-  
DOMS, INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY, AND VALUES THEY  
CHERISH.

(B) A PARAGRAPH ON DEFENSE ASSERTING:

-- THE NEED TO MAINTAIN ALLIED DEFENSIVE STRENGTH;

-- A DETERMINATION TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY  
RESOURCES, AND MAKE BETTER USE OF RESOURCES  
THROUGH INCREASED COOPERATION;

-- A RECOGNITION OF THE NEED TO IMPROVE OVERALL  
READINESS.

(C) A PARAGRAPH ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS CONTAINING:

-- AN AFFIRMATION OF ALLIED DETERMINATION TO  
CARRY FORWARD THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IN A MANNER  
DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE A REAL RELAXATION OF  
TENSIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF EAST AND WEST;

-- AN EXPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS TO DEBATE THE  
MERITS OF OPEN SOCIETIES. (COMMENT: SOME ALLIES  
MAY WISH TO DRAW ON THE EC-9 PAPER ON THE "DEFINITION OF  
DETENTE.")

(D) A PARAGRAPH ON CSCE UNDERLINING:  
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-- THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL PARTS OF THE FINAL  
ACT, INCLUDING THOSE THAT PERTAIN TO DOMESTIC  
PRACTICES, WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO A CONSTRUCTIVE  
COURSE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS;

-- THAT THE ALLIES WILL APPROACH THE BELGRADE  
CONFERENCE IN A SPIRIT OF CONFIDENCE, GENEROSITY, AND HOPE; AND

-- THAT THE PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL  
ACT OF HELSINKI SHOULD BECOME A REALITY  
FOR THE PEOPLES OF ALL PARTIES TO THE FINAL  
ACT. (COMMENT: THE ALLIES, OF COURSE, WILL  
WISH TO GIVE PARTICULAR PROMINENCE TO CSCE  
IMPLEMENTATION IN ANTICIPATION OF THE  
BELGRADE CONFERENCES THAT WILL BEGIN JUNE 15.  
END COMMENT.

(E) HUMAN RIGHTS (COMMENT: THE ALLIES WILL EXPECT  
US TO EMPHASIZE THIS THEME. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ANTI-  
CIPATE EFFORTS BY SOME TO WATER DOWN LANGUAGE THAT  
REFLECTS PROMINENTLY CONCEPTS AFFIRMED BY THE US. TACTI-  
CALLY, IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE STRESSING  
OUR VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, WE SHOULD BEGIN WITH A STRONG  
CONTRIBUTION, AND THEN CONTINUE TO PRESS OUR VIEWS DURING  
THE DRAFTING SESSIONS. WE WOULD APPRECIATE SPECIFIC  
GUIDANCE ON THIS POINT. END COMMENT.)

(F) ARMS CONTROL (COMMENT: WE WOULD HOPE TO EXPAND

AND IMPROVE ON PARAGRAPH 3 IN THE DECEMBER 1976 COM-  
MUNIQUE, WHICH RESPONDED TO THE WARSAW PACT CALL FOR  
AGREEMENTS ON NON-FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND

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DHA-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-10 IO-06 /058 W  
-----292015Z 032763 /44

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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1800

LIMDIS

FREEZING MEMBERSHIP OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. IN  
LIGHT OF SOVIET INSISTANCE THAT THE DECEMBER 1976 COM-  
MUNIQUE WAS NOT THE FINAL ALLIED RESPONSE ON NON-FIRST-  
USE, AND THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE ALLIANCE  
ON THIS ISSUE, THIS PASSAGE WILL HAVE TO BE HANDLED  
CAREFULLY. IN OUR VIEW, WE SHOULD LET THE DECEMBER 1976  
STATEMENT STAND, AND NOT ATTEMPT DIRECTLY TO REAFFIRM  
IT, OR TO REWORK IT, SINCE SUCH EFFORTS COULD LEAD TO  
UNHELPFUL DISCUSSIONS ON THIS ISSUE. THE BEST TACTIC,  
WE BELIEVE, WOULD BE TO STRESS ALLIED DETERMINATION TO  
PURSUE REALISTIC EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE MEANINGFUL AND  
EQUITABLE ARMS CONTROL MEASURES INCLUDING REDUCTIONS  
IN ARMAMENTS. WE COULD NOTE THAT ALLIED FORCES, BY  
THEIR DEPLOYMENTS, MATERIAL, AND STRATEGY, ARE  
DESIGNED SOLELY FOR DEFENSE. THIS STATEMENT COULD BE  
COUPLED WITH A CALL FOR THE WARSAW PACT TO CONFIGURE  
ITS FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE ALSO FOR DEFENSE  
RATHER THAN FOR OFFENSE. END COMMENT.)

(G) A PARAGRAPH ON MBFR AFFIRMING:

-- THE OVERALL MERITS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL AS  
AUGMENTED BY THE NUCLEAR OFFER;  
-- THE IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING MILITARY PARITY  
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IN CENTRAL EUROPE BY THE ACCEPTANCE OF A COMMON  
COLLECTIVE CEILING ON GROUND FORCES; AND  
-- THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE THAT ALLIED LEADERS  
ATTACH TO SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO PURSUE REAL  
PROGRESS IN THESE TALKS.

(H) A PARAGRAPH ON SALT (TO BE PROVIDED BY THE US).

(I) A SECTION ON BERLIN (TO BE PROVIDED BY THE BONN GROUP).

(J) A PARAGRAPH ON THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST NOTING:

-- THE NEED TO PRESERVE EFFECTIVE ALLIED FORCES, FOR DEFENSE IN THIS AREA; AND

-- THE URGENCY OF CONTINUING EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT FOR A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

(K) GREEK AND TURKISH DCAS (COMMENT: THE TURKS MAY INSIST ON REFERRING TO THESE AGREEMENTS, AND WE WOULD PLAN TO DEVOTE OUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTING COMPROMISE LANGUAGE AGREEABLE TO BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY. END COMMENT.)

4. AS TO THE NATURE AND FORMAT OF THE COMMUNIQUE, THE NETHERLANDS AMBASSADOR HAS SUGGESTED THAT A DECLARATION BE ISSUED AT THE END OF THE FIRST DAY OF THE NATO MEETING, MAY 10, WHEN HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PARTICIPATING, AND THAT A COMMUNIQUE BE RELEASED AT THE END OF THE SECOND DAY, WHEN ALLIES WILL BE REPRESENTED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS. WE EXPECT THIS ISSUE WILL BE DISCUSSED AT A PRIVATE PERMREPS MEETING YET TO BE SCHEDULED (SEE REFTTEL).

5. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE CUMBERSOME TO ISSUE TWO COMMUNIQUEES AT THE LONDON MEETING. A SECOND TEXT REFLECTING DECISIONS TAKEN BY FOREIGN MINISTERS WOULD TRAIL IN THE WAKE OF THE FIRST AND WOULD BE LARGELY CONFIDENTIAL

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OBSCURED. IF ONE DOCUMENT IS RELEASED, THE INITIAL PARAGRAPH COULD STATE THAT "THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MET IN LONDON ON 10 AND 11 MAY 1977, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AND OF FOREIGN MINISTERS". THE TEXT COULD THEN REFER TO THE VIEWS OF "ALLIED LEADERS" AS DID THE MAY 1975 SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE. THIS FORMAT ALSO WOULD ALLEVIATE POSSIBLE PROBLEMS FOR THE FRENCH ARISING FROM A SEPARATE DECLARATION FOR THE MAY 10 MEETING OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT.

6. DECLARATION OR COMMUNIQUE: ALTHOUGH WE HAVE A SLIGHT PREFERENCE FOR "COMMUNIQUE", WE BELIEVE THE DESCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENT IF OF MINOR IMPORTANCE IF WE ACCOMPLISH OUR PURPOSES IN THE TEXT. WE THUS SUGGEST ACCEPTING THE CONSENSUS OF THE ALLIES ON THIS POINT.

7. TONE AND SHAPE: WE THINK WE SHOULD STRIVE FOR A RELATIVELY BRIEF DOCUMENT, AIMED PRIMARILY AT CATCHING THE INTEREST OF THE WESTERN PRESS AND PUBLIC. THE

ALLIES WILL DOUBTLESS INFLATE THE TEXT DURING THE COMMUNIQUE NEGOTIATING SESSIONS THAT WILL BEGIN IN APRIL, BUT WE WILL STRIVE TO AVOID SOME OF THE REPETITIVE LANGUAGE THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED PREVIOUS COMMUNIQUE. STRAUSS-HUPE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

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**Page Count:** 5  
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**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** USNATO 1634  
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**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
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**TAGS:** NATO, PFOR, NAC  
**To:** STATE SECDEF  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009